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THE Wicked Petition, OR Israel's Sinfulness IN Asking a KING.

Explain'd in A

SERMON

At the ASSIZES held at *Northampton*, *March* the 1st. 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

By *Fr. Giffard*, M. A.

LONDON,
Printed for *Tho. Dring*, at the *Harrow* in *Fleet-Street*, near *Chancery-Lane-End*, 1681.

TO

Thomas Ward Esq;

High Sheriff of the County of

NORTHAMPTON.

SIR,

DRawn by your Commands from my poor but quiet shade into the open Sun, I should be affraid it would be too bright and too hot for me, if I was not assured of the advantages of a shade from your lustres. You shine with the Rays of a generous integrity in all your references which may sever they point, particularly that Publick Office which you now bear you have managed with so Noble and Powerful a light of Loyalty to your great Master, and of Equity, Discretion, Goodness, and Honour towards all, that the evil eyes which some disaffected to His Majestie's Government have cast upon you, have thereby been dazzled, and had their Malignant beams, when they could meet with nothing unbecoming in you to fix upon, with no little vexation reflected upon themselves, upon their own unworthiness and untowardness. The only Cloud by which you could be thought to suffer was made for an hour by my Blacks in the Pulpit. And I acknowledge that your Glories when look't upon through me, must have a faint aspect. You might have had enow who would have serv'd you in my place with better and more agreeable Skill, none with honester Design. My Design was to promote that fear of God which lies in the fearing and honouring of the King, that which I knew would be Satisfactory to you and to all other good Men. To which purpose I undertook for my Subject a Text of Scripture which the Unlearned have wrested to a far different Sense, and I wish they may so repent, that they may not do it also to their own Destruction. Whether I left (as I have been accused) either my Text, or (considering the juncture of Affairs) my Auditory, I leave the unprejudiced to judge. Indeed as the Israelites were wicked

in their manner of asking a King, not in the matter that they askt, I might also be faulty in my manner of handling their wickedness; but I dare affirm I was not in the matter which I thereupon asserted. Not Art, but Truth was my Business. And what if some were stung, swell'd and opened their Mouths? It was because Truth met closely with very much vitiated intelligence and humour. That this may appear, what I Preach't I have Printed, without either Substraction or Addition; without Substraction, because what I said I am ready to defend; without Addition, because I would have some Reserves for Defence in case of Assault. But here give me leave to add that Prayer for the King, which I then forgot in winding up my Discourse, which Tertullian *says, The Primitive Christians always used for the Emperors, and in which I assure my self you and all other his truly Christian Subjects will joyn, that he may have* Vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunq; hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt: *owning it so much further, That if he should not have* Senatum fidelem *and* populum probum, *yet he may not miss of having* exercitus fortes, *that so no disloyalty, no malice, no seditions or rebellious practisings may be able to hinder him from having* Vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, &c. *And this also, that whereas St.* Augustine *says* Regum est, non esse sine comitum obsequio, *he may have neither* Comitem *nor* Vice-Comitem *nor* Comitatum, *which does not esteem this obsequiousness to him their Duty, and study to perform it. As for your self, who will never fail of doing so, my Prayer is that you may live long to be, as you are, a very excellent and influential Exemplar of Allegiance to your Prince, and of such other Vertues as are suitable to your Character, and the Complexion of your Concerns. I am,*

SIR,

Your most Obliged, and most
humble Servant

Fr. Giffard.

1 Samuel 12. 17. part of the Verſe.

----That you may perceive and ſee, that your wickedneſs is great which you have done in the ſight of the Lord in asking you a King.

WAs there in reality no ſuch thing as right or wrong, but they were meerly the Comments of Politick, Romantick, ſuſpitious or feveriſh heads (of which yet the Imagination is abominable to a Sober Mind) Government would be moſt acceptable to Mankind in regard of that calm, eaſie, beauteous, pleaſant, ſafe, harmonious, uſeful ſtate of things, which it is its Nature to beget, nouriſh and maintain; and becauſe Anarchy would haſtily turn all the habitable Parts of the Earth into moſt inhoſpitable Scenes of confuſion, horrour, miſery: So that the more a man ſhould have of Senſe and Reaſon, that is, the more he ſhould be a man, the more obnoxious would he be to the feeling of what is moſt grievous.

But they who without having their Spirits pre-engaged by Principles of Licentiouſneſs, will make a careful ſearch, will quickly find that there is Equity why there ſhould be rule among Men, in regard both of Man and God.

It is altogether contrary to Eſſence, eſpecially if intelligent and free, to make or ſuffer any deficiency from it ſelf, and the glories of Humane Eſſence demand it as an Univerſal Debt to their Merit to be held as dear as they are fair, and to be made as much of as they are great. Whereupon it is manifeſt that every man hath both a right and an obligation to live according to Nature, (in which *Tully* there-

fore with great reaſon places the happineſs of Man) and this in a way of amicable and beneficial Society: eſpecially conſidering that man is variouſly enricht with Powers and Diſpoſitions of delightful, profitable, kind, fruitful, juſt, generous, holy, Converſes; of which it cannot eaſily be imagined that they ſhould be a part of his Nature, and the uſe of them not be natural, that he ſhould have them to no other purpoſe than that they might be defeated, and to only fit him for diſſatisfaction and calamity. The Capacities indeed and Neceſſities which Man hath of leading a Political life are ſo many, great, important, evident, that he who hath common Intelligence and diſowns them, deſerves for his Puniſhment to loſe all the advantageous uſes of the one, and feel all the funeſt conſequences of the other. And there needs no other proof, that man is (what all ſober Philoſophy has named him) a creature of Society, but thoſe his manifold Imbecillities, which according to the ordinary method of the World, inevitably betray him, when deſolate of Humane aſſiſtance, to the invaſion of innumerable and inſupportable Evils. But now though the particular rights of Nature, by which Society is to be model'd, ſo as to be rendred ſerviceable to Man's felicity, are fundamentally preſcrib'd to men in the complexion of their own Eſſence, and though they are not altogether either unlegible or unpracticable, yet withal they are not to be underſtood without far more ſtudy than the moſt of People are either able or willing to beſtow upon them, nor to be obſerv'd without a much greater ſubjection of Affection, Humour and Fancy to true Reaſon and Equity than is generally in Vogue through the World. If therefore it be of Humane concern, that thoſe rights ſhould be followed, and that Ignorance, Violence and Wickedneſs ſhould not prevail againſt them, it is of the ſame concern that the generality of people ſhould not be left to their own guidance, but be under Diſcipline for

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the regulation of their Minds and manners in the prosecution of them. More yet than so, the rights of Humane Nature have by their proper worth and excellency, a very fair and well assured Title to be publickly declared, injoyned, maintained and vindicated. I say vindicated, and I mean among other things by chastising of Offenders against them, and that not only for prevention of what may follow, but also in recompence of what is past; because, if the Fault which may be committed, calls for Punishment, much more does that which hath been, and because it is indeed equitably due to those amiable rights, that so far as any Man acts contrary to them so far he should have no benefit by them, but be treated as one who hath cast them off, that he who has endeavour'd to make them void to others, should have them made so by others to him; but this by a Political procedure, in regard it is a Political offence. To this purpose, as every man hath rights, and much more Societies of Men, which have a good claim to be adjusted, preserv'd and reveng'd; so some men have a peculiar right, which requires that they should be obey'd in adjusting, preserving, and revenging of them. Such are all they who have a right of Soveraign Authority, and such a right Men may have by Nature, by Purchase, by Conquest, by Donation, by Lot, by Divine Appointment, and it may be, by Election, Obligation, Merit, and other ways; and that there should be some who have such a right, God has been engaged to provide by the perfect reasonableness of the thing, by his goodness to Man, and by his justice to himself.

It was God who framed Man in such a Constitution, that he was nobly and beautifully qualified for Society, was by a powerful inclination carried to it, had a plentiful harvest of Emoluments offer'd him by it, and could not well be without it; so that in his Integrity, in Paradice, in his Lordship over all the Creatures of Earth, Air, and

Sea, there was wanting a meet-help to him: and it was God who therefore alſo built Woman to keep Man Company her ſelf, and to be alſo a means together with him to encreaſe and propagate Humane Society. But Society cannot ſtand in any tolerable faſhion without Government, and to oblige a Man to the one without the other, is no better than to Condemn him to the Company of Wolves, Bears, Lions, of incurable diſorder and miſchief. It was God therefore farther (God who is Love and Wiſdom it ſelf) who by the ſame primæve Method that he took order for Society among Men, did likewiſe for Government among them, creating only one Man, and appointing all Mankind to come out of him. Government then of Man over Man, appears to be an Ordinance of God, as being involv'd in that meaſure of Humane Eſſence which he firſt ſet on foot by Creation, and ſet up again by Redemption, as a principal part of it, and as being morally and rationally neceſſary for the carrying on of the whole: but this as with great reſpect to Humane Intereſts, ſo with unſpeakably greater to the Divine; for all that Men have of good, or worthy in their being more God's than their own, becauſe they themſelves are ſo, and being both the Product and delight of his Goodneſs and Wiſdom, and all their rights being Derivatives and Inſtitutions of that Eternal reaſon and equity which lives in his Eſſence, they ought as ſuch to be moſt diligently cheriſh't and aſſerted; which, it is apparent cannot be done without Government. Farther, Man is bound to God in incomputable and uneſtimable ſcores: but rarely would, or indeed could one farthing thereof be acknowledged, much leſs paid, except there were ſome whoſe buſineſs it is to conduct the Affair. Now the rights and intereſts of God are of inimaginably more value than the Liberties, Eſtates and Lifes of Men, than all the Univerſe beſides, and all others are to them no more than the duſt of the ballance to unexaminable weight.

Upon

Upon such and many other Considerations, well might *Aristotle* say, Τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων: *To govern and to be governed are of the number both of necessary things, and of those also that are profitable.* Julius Cæsar, as *Dion Cassius* gives us his words, Φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖά τινα καὶ σωτήρια, τῷ μὲν ἄρχειν ὀν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τῷ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται· καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀνεῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι: "*Nature hath instituted among men the necessary and beneficial things of governing and being governed, and it is impossible without these that any thing whatever should endure for any time whatever.* And *Tully*, Nihil porro tam aptum est ad jus conditionemq; naturæ (quod cùm dico legem à me dici, nihil aliud intelligi volo) quam imperium, sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum Natura omnis nec ipse mundus potest.

Arist. l. 1. Polit.

Dion Cass. l. 41.

Tull. l. 3. De Legibus.

With these three fam'd Secretaries of Humane Wisdom, have all, though of very common observation, found reason to agree. The Question is not whether there should be any Government, but what Government there should be; a Question which hath been most fiercely debated with Tongue, Pen and Sword. To come to our Text, the People of *Israel* and all their Elders were for Monarchy, They askt a King. *Samuel* on the other side at least seems to have been against it, *Now therefore*, says he, *stand and see this great thing which the Lord will do before your eyes. Is it not wheat-harvest to day? I will call upon the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain, that you may perceive and see that your wickedness is great, which you have done in the sight of the Lord in asking you a King.* And he made good his word, as we find in the Sequel of the Chapter.

That we now may perceive and see wherein this great wickedness lay of which *Samuel* arraigned them in our Text, and they confest themselves guilty in the 19 *v.* of the Chapter.

Let

Let us take a view first of the Circumstances which their Petition (if I may call it so) had retaining to it. Secondly, of the thing it self, which they Petition'd for.

1. First of the Circumstances for Petitions, though for things in their own Nature good, may be so circumstantiated as highly to deserve abhorrence. And, if I mistake not, there were several things which conspired to render this so.

1. First, They hereby arrogated to themselves a higher Conduct of the Publick than belonged to them. It is true they were the Elders of *Israel* that presented it, and so they were Stars of a more than ordinary Magnitude, elevation, and influence in the State; but to rule the day of Government was no part of their Commission. Notwithstanding the Authority of all the Elders of *Israel*, and particularly of that chief Council or Senate of them, which we call the *Sanhedrim*, instituted by God at the request of *Moses* for his assistance, when that celebrated Lawgiver was to lay down the chief management of the Publick: not but at his All-powerful Master's command, and together with his life, he was so far from leaving it to them as their right, or as proper to them, that he addrest himself to God with this Prayer, *Let the* Numb. 27. 16, 17. *Lord the God of the Spirits of all flesh set a man over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord be not as sheep, that have no Shepheard.* Which certainly would have been very injuriously said, had ἡ ἀρχὴ ποιμδμενὴ the chief guidance of the flock lain either in the whole flock themselves, or in the Elders thereof, had he not believed that they would have been as Sheep that had no Shepheard, unless beside the common Shepheards of the Congregation, there was one who was Master of them all. In relation to the King of our Text, I reckon it chiefly, if not only, was that God said to the Pro- Hos. 8. 4. phet *Hosea*, concerning the People of *Israel*, *They have set up*

Kings,

Kings, but not by me. The *Arabick* Version of which is to this sence, *They have reigned from themselves, not from me.* God's meaning here seems to be, They have assumed and exercised soveraign Empire as of right pertaining to them, and have set up Regal Government, and given Investiture of it upon pretensions of an Authority founded in themselves of choosing what Government and Governours they have a mind to, without having any respect to my appointment of Monarchy, or to my right of inaugurating into it whom I thought fit. But I know not how God could have spoken this by way of Accusation as he does, if there had been lodged in them a right of the Supreme management of the Nation.

2. But Secondly, in those words of *Hosea* there is somewhat more implied of Fault in the Petition of our Text, namely, that they askt a King without asking God's advice, whether or no it was agreeable to his Will. Wherefore also God adds there, *they have made Princes, but I knew it not.* Hos. 8. 4. The *Targum* of *Jonathan Ben Uziel* upon *Deut.* 17. 15. is to this effect, *Ye shall seek instruction of the Lord, and after that shall set a King over you.* The Supreme Arbitrement of all Affairs is so illustriously God's Prerogative, that he who denies it, must necessarily be concluded to have either a head of monstrous default, or a heart most malignantly affected. Considering which, and that there can nothing occur, especially in the business of Government, which is both the Ordinance and Ministry of God, they should in this matter chiefly have been of the Heathen's Mind, though not as a Heathen, *Caput esse interpretari quæ deorum immortalium voluntas esse videatur.* Nor had he left them without his Oracles, Prophets, and Priests to inform them. But did they not, as too many among us, reckon the Seers blind in comparison with themselves, or proper to be consulted only in such concerns, as *Saul* came to *Samuel* about when that of the Text was on foot, lost Asses? The Priests to have their hearts

Cicero in Orat. pro domo sua ad Pontifices.

and heads too much heated with the fires of the Altar at which they serv'd to be of their Counsel, fit only to receive rules from them, not give to them? did they not take measures from some of those Idols, which had been formerly worship'd among them: from *Berith*, the Leaguing and Covenanting Deity, as the word signifies? from *Baal*, under which name *Nimrod* was worship'd, that is the Rebel, as his name denotes? from *Astaroth* the Moon, that Queen of Changes both in her own and other Bodies?

3. It is certain Thirdly, That they hereby negotiated a great change in the Government; which, like the removing of a Noble Structure from one foundation to another, or rather like the altering of its whole frame and conveighance, not only creates abundance of trouble and disorder, but also commonly draws after it consequences far more to be abhorred than desired, and which therefore has no passable excuse, but plain and absolute Necessity. Besides they hereby testified themselves discontent with their present condition, though very satisfactory, and also of a light and unconstant humour; whereas to be given to change, especially in the affairs of Religion and Polity, speaks both a weakness in their minds who are so, and a disagreeableness to God's, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning, and not only keeps them like the rowling Stone naked of all the mosse of good acquists, but also exposes them at the best to be by degrees worne away, oftentimes to be suddenly broken in pieces.

4. They were herein most unthankfully, contumeliously and rebelliously traiterous both unto their chief Magistrate, and to God whose Minister he was. *Samuel* had recover'd out of the hands of the Philistins, not only all the Cities and Coasts of *Israel* which they had taken, but also the glory of *Israel*, the Ark of God; he had relieved them from those their grievous Oppressors, so that they were kept under

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hatches all his days; he had brought to a Peace with them their powerful Enemies the *Amorites*; he had re-establisht the true Worship of God, and had reclaim'd the People from their abominable Errours to a fair uniformity therein; he had every year ridden in Circuit among them to do them justice; in sum, having now sat at the Helm, as I reckon, somewhat above Twenty years, he had all the while steer'd the Nation with most industrious, laborious, equitable and pious endeavours for their happiness, and those successful also, though when he took the Rudders, the Ship was in very ill condition. Having now by taking pains for their welfare and God's honour exhausted and worn out himself, so that he was grown old before length of days had made him so (for, if I mistake not, he was not yet Threescore years of age) so that his Silver hairs were the Ensigns of rich and glorious toils, and his wrinkles the Skars of honourable fatigues, the thanks and recompence they gave him was to thrust him out of the Seat of Judicature, as one of no value, and unfit to hold it; and this, though they could not upon his challenge but clear him from every thing of Injustice and Arbitrary acting, and also very well know that God had placed him there. But they who cast off those whom God hath appointed to Rule over them, do in the same act cast off God himself. *Corah* and his Company that rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron*, are therefore said to have gather'd themselves together and striven against God, and that, though there were of their Party Two hundred and Fifty Princes of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, Men of renown. *Simplicius*, if I have not forgotten, tells us of the *Achorites*, who were swallow'd up of the Earth for denying God: I cannot but think they were the *Corites*, (with the Article prefixt) and said to deny God because they rebell'd against his Vicegerent and his High Priest, That our Petitioners in casting off *Samuel*, cast off God also, God himself declares, when he says to *Samuel*,

Num. 16. 11. Num. 26. 9.

1 Sam. 8 7. *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* But yet there is more than that contained in those words; namely, that they reprobated God in regard of his own Government over them as well as of *Samuel's*, and dealt no better with him than with his Lord Lieutenant. God had most benignly undertaken to be their King in a more than common way, in a more particular manner than he was of all the world besides, and it could not be thought that he had no other right of being so, but what was derived from the People, or was capable of losing it, because he had entred into Covenant with them; and in the exercise of this his Kingship he had done them so many and great acts of Grace, as it is impossible to begin an estimation of, and yet by this Petition they not only most impiously derogated from his Goodness, Care, Justice, and Wisdom in his œconomy of them, as if he was unmindful and negligent of the Publick weal, and understood not how to manage it without their advice, but went about most execrably to put him out of his Throne. So we may partly see by the forementiond place, 1 *Sam.* 8. 7; but more by what is said 1 *Sam.* 12. where *Samuel* having reasoned to them of the Righteousnesses and benefits which God had performed to them, adjoyns *Verse* the 12. *And when he saw that Nahash the King of the Children of Ammon came against you, ye said unto me, Nay, but a King shall reign over us, when the Lord your God was your King.*

5. These words offer to us a fifth Particular of their wickedness; *viz.* That notwithstanding the many Deliverances which they had received from God, and several of them by the hand of *Samuel*, out of fears of a Neighbour Prince, they most vilifyingly discarded the Conduct of them both, for another refuge.

6. They herein went upon the track of their former Rebellious Defections. Practises of Rebellion, as soon as of any other

other Sin, nurse themselves into dispositions, dispositions into habits, and the fire of these, though it ought to be with all possible care extinguisht, seldom wholly is; but though it may be for a while cover'd, cooled or pent up, commonly glows under its own ashes, and erelong revives and breaks out again into a more furious and ravaging flame. To have and to do as they list, is so connatural to Mankind by degeneracy, that they hate nothing more than to be under restraint, though by God himself. A just Subjection therefore they name Slavery, and the drawing back from it they ascribe to generosity of Spirit. And if any other Nation (I was going to say except our own) was guilty of this refractory and perfidious humour of revolting, this of the *Jews* was. So that rather than endure that yoke of Government which God put upon them, they would have one of their own putting on, though more strict and severe. According to the habitualness hereof to them, did they behave themselves in the present affair, not considering that such Precedents were so far from deserving to be made leading rules, much more from having any Plea to be lookt upon as Laws, that they could no way be expiated but by declaring their hearty repentance and abhorrence of them. *According to all the works*, says God to *Samuel*, *which* 1 Sam. 8. 8.
they have done since the day that I brought them out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods, so do they also to thee. Their revolting from their Prince, was Sister to their defection from God. *Theodorick* had in his Court a Minister whom he very much loved. He thinking to please his Prince, left the Doctrine of Christ's eternal consubstantial Deity, and professed himself of the *Arrian* Opinion, wherewith he knew him infected: but his Master hearing of it caused his Head to be stricken off, saying, That he who had not kept his Faith with God, would never be loyal to a Mortal Man.

7. But seventhly, Our Petitioners were not herein like themselves only, but also were carried to it by a fond Zeal of being like the Neighbour States, without considering whether it was good or bad, which they had a passion to be like them in. They who devote themselves to write after the Copy of another man's manners at all adventure without an eye to its goodness, are far more likely to do what is evil than what is good; and if they happen to do what is good, they do so not well, because they do it not out of a study of goodness, have furr'ondred their reason and their duty to the Copy, and act not the Man, but the Ape. Farther, He that will blindly follow the blind, may possibly make a few fair and advantagious steps, but shall nevertheless be reckoned a Fool or Madman, because it is meerly by chance, not any good cun-

ning that he does so, and because he throws himself into a most certain danger of falling into the Ditch. The States whom our Elders studied to be like, were not only blind, but also of such wicked and pernicious manners, especially in things pertaining to God, as should have made them wary of being like them in any thing, much more should have kept them from making it their business to be like them. And they must necessarily be esteemed to do wickedly, who, though they do what is in its self good, do it not upon that account, but out of a precipitate imitation of wicked Men.

8. They took a Pretext for doing it from faults of Publick importance committed by some great Officers of the Government. *Samuel* having made his two Sons the Assistants of his Age in the Judicature of
1 Sam. 8. 3. the Nation, they *turned aside after lucre, took bribes, and perverted judgment*; and for this reason their excellent Father must be deposed, God himself revolted from, and another mode of Government brought in: A piece of wickedness certainly, weighed against which that of *Samuel's* Sons will not stir the ballance. Must the Sun be tumbled from his Saphire Throne, lose his golden Crown of Rays, and Empire of the Day, because his light is sometimes intercepted by Clouds which he himself draws up. But suppose *Samuel* accused of Male-administration in his own person, who made the People judge over him whom God had made judge over them? God having constituted him Supreme Governour in all Causes over the People next and immediately under himself, could there among the same People be a Superior to him between him and God? This colour of ill-government the ambitious *Absolom* made use of against his Royal Father, and having by that and other insinuating Pretences and Courtships stolen away from him the hearts of the People and their Elders, procured him to be reprobated by them from the Throne, and himself advanced into it. But it lyes obvious to every eye, that he who was the Lord's Anointed, though guilty of Crimes punishable by Death in another Person, had right on his side against him who was the People's Anointed, though a Pretender to Justice and Piety, and that Divine Justice set a remark upon the Enterprize of the latter, as most wicked, bringing to a fatal end by the treachery of his own head, him who was a Traitor to his Political head, of whose Body also he was a beloved and famous part.

9. They were over-hasty in their Petition. They left not their great Monarch to his own time, but insolently prescribed to him theirs. God intended them a King, but was not willing that his Favourite and Vice-Roy *Samuel* should lose his seat of Soveraign Judicature, but for the

the grave and a Throne in Heaven, or that the Scepter should be put into any hand until *David*'s was made fit to change the Sheephook for it. He who importunely urges the performance of what he desires without staying his leisure upon whom he depends for it, may possibly receive what he asks, and at his own hour, but not without deserving, if not incurring the displeasure of his Benefactour.

10. It was not so much a Petition, as an Impudent, Peremptory, and obstinate demand; they went to their Prince's face, and required him to come down from the Seat of Authority in which God had installed him, make an alteration of it, and put another into it; and though both he and God himself declared themselves displeased with their proceedings, they contumaciously p.rsisted in them, and told him they would have what they desired.

The Son has a right of Petitioning his Father, but not of doing it usurpingly, unadvisedly, ungratefully, opprobriously, treasonably, rebelliously, in imitation of bad Neighbours, out of an unstable mind, a revolting inclination, and a ruling design, with the terms of Empire, a forehead of Brass, and a neck of an Iron Sinew.

In these respects the wickedness in the Text was great, and it was further greatned by the generality of it. In such a case many hands make not light but heavy work, and in this there were none who had either so much consideration of their Duty as to abhor what was done, or so much courage as to declare they did so.

These are Circumstances which manifestly contributed to the wickedness in the Text. There are some also which probably did so. It is indeed likely that there lay at the bottom ambitious, covetous, malicious, licentious and other such sinister regards. Some might hope to obtain, rather than deserve, if not the Throne which they were erecting, yet some eminent station near it, or gainful Office under it.

Others might aim at being revenged for acts of Justice or Injustice done them. A third sort might design Liberty of Religion with the overthrow of that which was establisht, which they knew *Samuel* was much more a Saint than to allow. A fourth might be emported, though very groundlessly and unjustly, with umbrages that their present Governour had intentions of Arbitrary and Tyrannick Rule by himself, or Sons, or both.

But these particulars not being certain, I shall forbear to urge them; and having shewn enow that are certain, and certainly wicked, I shall now come to consider whether the matter of the demand of the Text made it not also wicked in its own Nature.

1. The

1. The Matter of it was a King. Let us then, First, see what a King was; and to that purpose let us view in the first place how he is represented by the ancient *Mystæ* of Philosophy, History and Policy among the *Gentiles*. Ἡ δὲ Βασιλεία, ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, *Kingship is an uncontroulable Government*, are the words of a Writer in *Suidas*, whom he names not, but whom I dare name a Heathen. *Dion Chrysostomus* hath the same words, and more: Βασιλεία ἦ, says he, ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχὴ, ὁδὲ νόμος, Βασιλέως δόγμα; Kingship is an uncontroulable Government, and the Law is the King's Decree. *Plutarch* in his short Treatise concerning Monarchy, Democracy and Oligarchy, calls the first Βασιλείαν, Kingly Government, and says once that it is αὐτοκρατῆ, *of absolute Authority*, twice ἀνυπεύθυνον, *uncontroulable*.

Suid. in Βασιλ.

Dion Chrys. in Orat. 3. de regno.

Dion Cassius says of the *Roman* Emperors, ἔτι τε τὸ Αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν ἀλλὰ παντὸς μᾶλλον πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς σφῶν ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Βασιλέως τε καὶ δικτάτορος ἐπωνυμίας, ἔχουσιν; *They have the name of Emperour throughout, in signification of their full and perfect Authority, instead of the title of King, and Dictator.* And again, Λύλυσθαι ἦ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει· τετῆσθαι ἐλεύθερον ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως εἶναι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπέχεσθαι; *They are set loose from the Laws, as the Latine words themselves speak; that is, they are free from all necessary subjection to Law or Coaction by it, and are bound by none of the written Institutes.* Having also said, that πᾶσι τὰ πολιτείας ἰσχὺν ἐπιβεβλῆσθαι, *they were invested with all the power of the Polity*, He adjoins, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν, *so that they had all things of Kings, except their unacceptable title.* *Aristotle* having set down five sorts of Regal Government, he says of the Fifth which is named by him παμβασιλεία, *perfect Regal Government*, that it is chiefly or most properly called Regal, that Tyrannie is the Corruption of it, that it is

Dion Cass. l. 53.

Arist. in libris Politic.

is ὅταν ἡ πάντων κύριος εἷς ὤν, *when one man is Lord of all*; and καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάντων αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, *by which the King governs all according to his will*: and that it is the same kind of Government with that of the Father or Master of a Family: Of the four others, which he says were κατὰ νόμον, *according to Law*, and especially the *Lacedæmonian*, (which, as is agreed by all, was almost wholly a mixture of Aristocracy and Democracy), he says that they are not properly any kind of Kingdom or Polity. *Marcus Aurelius* says in *Dion Cassius*, περὶ γοῦν τοῦ τὴν αὐταρχίαν ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται, *of Imperial Authority God only may be Judge*. In Excerptis *Dionis Cassii*.

The *Athenians* accounted themselves, and are accounted by Writers to have dissolved Kingly Government in setting up the Archontick, which was of one man who was liable to be controuled and called to an account.

Diologenes, a *Pythagoran*, says in *Stobæus*, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς, ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀνυπεύθυνον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόμος ἔμψυχος, θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρεσκεύασται; *A King, having an uncontrolable Authority, and being himself an animated Law, hath the form of God among Men.* *Diologenes* apud *Stobæum* in Serm. 46.

Ecphantas, one of the same Sect, hath in the same Author these words, Ἐντὶ μὲν τᾷ θεῷ, ἐντὶ δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ, ἄλλᾳ μὲν ἄρχειν, ἀφ' ὑπερ καὶ αὐτάρκης καλεῖται, ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπ' οὐδενός; *It belongs also to a King, to rule himself, and to be ruled by none.* *Stob.* Ser. 46.

Otanes a *Persian* Noble in *Herodotus* speaking of Monarchy, or Kingly Government says, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν ἃ βούλεται, *Which hath a right of doing whatever it will without controul.* *Herod.* l. 3.

Caius

Saluſt in bello Jugurthino. *Caius Memmius*, a Tribune of the People ſays in *Saluſt*, Impunè quælibet facere, id eſt regem eſſe; *To do what a man will with Impunity, that is to be a King.*

Joſep. Antiq. l. 15. *Cleopatra* urging her *Marcus Antonius* to call *Herod* to an account, he replyed, That it was not fair, Βασιλέα περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν γενεημένων ἐυθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἴη, *To demand of a King an account of what was done in his Government; for ſo he would not be a King.*

Æſchyl. in Suppl. The Daughters of *Danaus* in *Æſchylus* upon the common notion of Regal Authority tell the *Argive* King,

Σὺ τοι πόλις, σὺ δ' τὸ δήμιον,
Πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὢν ——

Thou art the City, thou the People art,
Being a Governour not to be judg'd.

Kingly Authority is in the *Antigona* of *Sophocles*, called παντελὴς μοναρχία, *perfect Monarchy.* And in the ſame Tragedy *Creon* ſaying to *Æmon*,

Οὐ τῷ κρατοῦντι δῆτα πόλις νομίζεται;

Is not the City his eſteem'd that Reigns?

He rejoins, Καλῶς, *fairly.*

I ſhall add no more of this, though I could ſpend many hours upon it, ſave that of *Horace.*

Hor. li. Carn. 3. Od. 1.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis.

But this is Heathen Doctrine: Let us try how agreeable it is to the Theology of Scripture. And here we

Wee need look no farther than to what *Samuel* says upon the Business of the Text; God having commanded *Samuel* to protest solemnly to the People of *Israel*, and declare to them the manner (as we translate it) of the King that should Reign over them: The Judge says to them, *This will be the manner of the King that shall Reign over you; He will take your Sons, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen; and some shall run before his Chariots: And he will appoint him Captains over Thousands, and Captains over Fifties; and to ear his Ground, and to reap his Harvest, and to make his Instruments of War, and Instruments of Chariots: And he will take your Daughters to be Confectionaries, and to be Cookes, and to be Bakers: And he will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your Olive-yards, the best of them, and give them to his Servants: And he will take the Tenth of your Seed, and of your Vineyards, and give to his Officers, and to his Servants: And he will take your Men-Servants, and your Maid-Servants, and your goodliest young Men, and your Asses, and put them to his Work: He will take the Tenth of your Sheep, and ye shall be his Servants.* This I look upon as a Law: For, 1 Sam. 8. 9. 1 Sam 8. 11.

1. The word *Mishphat*, which we translate *Manner*, as the Learned know, properly signifies *Right*, *Judgment*, *Statute*, and the like.

2. It is in this Sense rendred here, by all the Ancient Translations, *Arabick*, *Syriack*, *Vulgar Latine*, that of the *Septuagint*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphrase.

3. These Words of *Samuel*, were either a Prediction from God only, of what the King would do, or a Law of what he might do: If only a Prediction, and not a Law, then all the Kings were Tyrants and Oppressors, *David*, *Solomon*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Jehoash*, *Amaziah*, *Uzziah*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*; but of the good and Pious Reign of all these, the Holy Ghost gives very fair Elogies.

4. These things appear to be not spoken by way of Prediction only, to deter the *Israelites* from persisting in

their Deſire of a King, becauſe ſuch frightful and horrid things might have been ſaid upon that Subject, in compariſon with which theſe here ſpoken of, may well ſeem ſoft, pleaſant and deſireable.

5. The Manner in which God commanded *Samuel* to declare theſe things to them, ſpeak it a Law; *proteſting thou ſhalt proteſt to them, and ſhew them the Miſhphat of the King*, ſays God, who calls his Law his Teſtimony.

6. The Cloſe of it is drawn in the terms of a Command; *And ye ſhall be his Servants.*

7. *Samuel*, after he had declared this to them, added, *And ye ſhall cry out in that day, becauſe of your King, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* They would have had a Remedy in their Hands, when diſ-eaſed by their King, and ſick of him, if this had not been a Law.

1 Sam. 10. 25. 8. *Samuel* wrote it in a Book, and laid it up before the Lord, that is, about the Arke, the place of which was in the Holy of Holyes, and in which were laid up the Pot of Manna, the Rod of *Aaron*, and the two Tables. So I conclude, becauſe when the Pot of Manna was commanded to be laid up before the Lord, *Aaron* laid it up before the Teſtimony. Now ſurely, had it been only a Prediction of the Manner of the Kingdom, and not a Divine Law, it would not have been laid up with ſo much Tenderneſs, Reſpect and Valuation, more by far, than all the reſt of the Law of God, except the two Tables all that being only put into the Hands of the Prieſts and Elders. If any ſhall make any queſtion, Whether this *Miſhphat* in the Tenth Chapter, was the ſame with that in the Eighth, becauſe there it is called *Of the King*, here *Of the Kingdom.* I ſay, Firſt, the Ancient Jews, and other believed it to be the ſame: It is render'd in both places alike, τὸ δικάιωμα τῦ Βασιλέως, *the Right of the King*, by the Seventy; by words which ſignifie *the Statute of the King*, in the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe; *the Right of the King*, in the *Syriack*; *the Rights of the King*, in the *Arabick*,

Exod. 16 33.

Arabick Verſion. Secondly had this been a new Law of God, different from what had been ſpoken of before, *Samuel* would have declared here, as he did there, that he had received new Inſtructions from God about it. Thirdly, had it been a new Law, it would have been recited by *Samuel*, and recorded by him as that was.

With Relation to this Law (though not as preſcribed to *Iſrael* only) I cannot but think it is that *Solomon* ſays, *I counſel (or charge) thee to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* And that, Eccleſ. 8. 2.

Firſt, Becauſe that Law was delivered with a moſt ſolemn Proteſtation from God, which hath much of the Nature of an Oath.

Secondly, Becauſe it was laid up with the Tables of the Covenant, and about the Ark of the Covenant, and the Law of God, hath the Name of the Covenant, and the Covenant which God in giving his Law, made with the People of *Iſrael*, is called the Oath that he made with them

Thirdly, Becauſe it is epitomized in the following Words of *Solomon*, *He doth whatſoever pleaſeth him; where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may ſay unto him what doeſt thou?* To this Queſtion of *Solomon*, *Milton* replies, No private Perſon, but the Magiſtrate or Senate may. But I cannot but wonder, that he ſhould be ſuch a Novice in Learning, and Maſter in Impudence at the ſame time; ſo clear is the ſence of the Words by their own Light, as alſo by what *Job* ſays, *Who ſhall ſay unto him, what doeſt thou?* And by *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Acknowledgment, he doth according to his Will, and none can ſtay his Hand, or ſay unto him what doeſt thou? Which they both ſpake to teſtify the Authority of God to be abſolutely Supreme and uncontroulable. So much therefore of God was in the King, according to *Solomon*, that there was no Body, whoever of his People, no Magiſtrate, no Senate to whom he was bound to give an Ac- Job 9. 12. Dan. 5. 35.

count. This Senſe of *Solomon* we are prepar'd to believe, by that Saying of his Father *David*, to God, upon the Head of his Adultery and Murther, *Againſt thee only have I ſinned.* So he ſaid in the High Tide of his Repentance; and his Meaning is, that though his Sins were ſuch as were in others, to be puniſhed by the Judge, the Judge on Earth; yet as his, they were to be puniſhed only by the Judge of Heaven and Earth. This is the Expoſition which all the Ancient Fathers, and Learned Men, and ſome Famed Papiſts alſo give of the Words; which are more than I could now half quote, was that my whole Buſineſs here. It is indeed ſufficiently evident to them, who are not blind, or will not ſhut their Eyes, that the Kings of *Iſrael* were, of Right, free from all Coerſion, both by Elders and People. The Queſtion then will be, Whether other Kings had the ſame Prerogative? And it appears, they had, not only by Humane Records, which I muſt not now touch; but alſo by what is ſaid of the Affair of the Text, and by ſeveral Inſtances in Scripture. In the Concern of the Text, we find, that the People ſaid to *Samuel*, *Make us a King to judge us like all the Nations*; and that God commanded *Samuel* to hearken to their Voice in all that they had ſaid unto him. But now they were not like other Nations in their Kings, if the Kings of other Nations had not ſuch a Supreme Authority as I have ſhewn theirs had.

1 Sam 8. 5.

1 Sam. 8. 7.

Of the many Inſtances, I ſhall at preſent urge only one, and it ſhall be of the *Egyptian* King.

Joſeph was known in *Egypt*, to be of another Country and Religion, to have been bought by *Potiphar*, in the Quality of a Slave; and, after he had been raiſed, by his favor, to the management of all his buſineſs, to have been ſtrongly accus'd by his Wife, of attempting the Violation of their Bed; and thereupon to have lain long, and with much hardſhip in Priſon: Yet this Man, when not above thirty years of Age, upon the Interpretation of the King's Dream, concerning ſeven

ſeven Years of Plenty, and as many of Scarcity ſucceſſively; which, whether it was true or falſe, from a good Spirit or from a Bad, might then be doubted by ſome; and upon his Counſel to him, to ſet one over the Land, to make Proviſion againſt the Famine, in which he might be then ſuſpected to have ſome ambitious Regards to himſelf, did *Pharaoh*, without adviſing but with ſome of the Servants of his Court, conſtitute a Ruler both over his Houſe, and the whole Land; and he ſet him in ſuch an elevated degree of Power, that only in the Throne was he himſelf greater, that the People were all to be ruled according to his Word; that without him, no Body was to lift up his Hand or Foot in all the Land; that he had it in his Commiſſion, to bind his Princes at his Pleaſure, and to teach his Senators Wiſdom; and that he might take, and lay up, what, and where he thought fit, of the Fruits of the Land, for the uſe, and under the Hand of his Maſter. This *Pharaoh* did, by vertue of his Regal Crown, ſo he declared by thoſe Words, *I am Pharaoh, and without thee ſhall no man lift up his Hand or Foot.* *Pharaoh* being the Title of the *Egyptian* Kings, as Kings, derived to them, as I could ſhew from the firſt King of *Egypt*, *Miſraim* the Son of *Ham*. And that herein he extended not his Scepter beyond its due Limits; I therefore reckon,

Gen. 41.

Gen. 41. 44.

Firſt, Becauſe *Joſeph* adviſes him to it, with the next Breath, after he had, by the Spirit of God, explained his Dream.

Secondly, Becauſe *Joſeph*, who feared God, not only accepted, but alſo exerciſed the Authority, and that in a great Latitude.

Thirdly, Becauſe *Joſeph* ſays, That God had made him Lord and Ruler of all *Egypt*, which he could not well have ſaid, if it had been unjuſt in *Pharaoh* to have made him ſo, it being by his Authority that he was ſo made.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Becauſe *David* ſings of this Act of *Pharaoh*, as a juſt Ground and Matter of Glorifying God. I ſhall only add to this, that the *Egyptians*, being, as all Writers of them agree, a moſt unſtable, envious, proud, Seditious, furious People, and *novarum rerum uſque ad publicas cantilenas cupientes*, it is not likely they would have ſubmitted herein to *Pharaoh*, if they had not accounted that he herein exerciſed a juſt Prerogative. They indeed ſeem to have look'd upon their Natural Kings, as having a Paternal Right of Dominion: For that *Apis*, which I interpret Father, was the Name of one, at leaſt of their Primitive Kings; and alſo *Pamyles* or *Palmys*, which ſignifies *The King the Father*, and that *Abimeleck*, which ſignifies *The Father the King*, and from which, *Pamyles* and *Palmys*, differ but with a little Change of Letters, was the Common Name of the Kings of the *Philiſtins*, who were Grand-Children of *Miſraim*, the firſt Founder of the *Egyptian* Kingdom.

Thus do we ſee, That a King of Old, was a Governour abſolutely Supreme, not to be violently controul'd, or call'd to an Account by any of his People, but to be either actively, or paſſively obey'd.

2. Let us in the next place ſee, whether the asking of a King was not a Wickedneſs, conſidering it as to the Matter of it abſtractively in it ſelf; that indeed it was far from it, there are theſe Arguments among others, offer'd us by Scripture.

Firſt, The Condition in which God put Mankind, by the Creation, Flood, and Diſperſion at *Babel*, implyed Monarchy their Rightful Government, both for preſent and future Generations. For Man is the Head of the Woman, and ſhe ought to be in ſubjection to him, becauſe ſhe was made after him, of him, and for him; ſhe came not into the World until Man was inthroned in the Dominion of all Inferior Creatures; ſhe was made of his Rib, and ſo was Bone of his Bone, and Fleſh of his Fleſh; and

and ſhe was made to be a Meet Help to him; ſo that he muſt have it in his Power to make her ſo. Beſides, he is of a more Elevated and Subſtantial Worth, and ſhe is the weaker Veſſel. This Reaſon, *Tully* tells us, was obſerv'd of Old, *Mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem Concilii majores in tutorem poteſtate eſſe voluerunt*, The Son owes Obedience to the Father, becauſe he owes his Being to him, and commonly many of the Advantages of it by his Education; and becauſe he is as much a part of him, as is his beſt Blood, as is any Member of his Body; the Son being the Father's Tranſcript, and having his Blood and Nature in him, particularly the Eldeſt Son, having his Blood and Nature firſt in him, being the Beginning and Chief of his Strength, being next to him, and entring firſt into the Poſſeſſion of his Power; all the other Children, are, by Primitive Inſtitution, after the Father's Death, ſubject to the Eldeſt Brother; and conſequently, all of the ſame Blood to the Eldeſt of the Eldeſt Line of it. This Title of Primogeniture to rule, was anciently acknowledged by the Followers of Nature; *Dicæarchus* particularly, and *Ariſtotle*, ſpeak of the Dominion of the πρεσβύτατος τῆ γενῆς, and ſay it was of Old in uſe in the Cities of *Greece*. But it is declared by God himſelf, in ſeveral places of Scripture, I ſhall inſtance only in one, touching the firſt First-born: When God ſaw him (I mean *Cain*) diſcontented, becauſe he approved of *Abel*'s Sacrifice, and not of his, *Unto thee ſhall be his Deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him*, ſaid God to him in the ſame Language that he uſed to *Eve* concerning *Adam*'s Dominion over her: as if he ſhould have told him, that notwithſtanding the Goodneſs of his Brother's, and the Faultineſs of his own Religion, he would not take from him the Right of Dominion, which he had over him by Primogeniture. By the Rule of what I have ſaid, *Adam* was Univerſal Monarch of the Earth, and *Cain* ſhould have been ſo after him, if he ſurvived; but that

Cic. in Orat. pro L. Murænâ.

that he forfeited his Right of being ſo, together with his Life, by the Murder of his Brother; ſo it fell to *Seth* and his Family; upon which Account I put it, that *Cainan*, as the *Arabian* Writers ſay, was King of all the Earth; and that *Abydenus* and *Beroſus* reckon Ten Kings before the Flood, as there were Ten Generations from *Adam* to *Noah*. However, *Noah* was by the Flood, put almoſt into the ſame Condition with *Adam*; therefore he is by an *Eaſt-Indian* Sect of Philoſophers, called *The Second* Adam. But it was not long before, if ſeveral of the Fathers were not miſinform'd, he parted the Earth by Lot, between his three Sons; by which means, the Inequality which was among all Mankind by Nature, as to Government, was in part broken. However, it is certain, that a Parity of Rule among many more Perſons, was brought in by the Diſperſion of *Noah*'s Children at *Babel*, of which God was the Author of that extraordinary Oeconomy. But it was a Parity, not of all People of the ſame Society, but of ſeveral diſtinct Monarchs only: When God ſcattered the Race of Men, by the Confuſion of Tongues, it was not done with ſo much Confuſion, but that he took Order there ſhould be in every ſeperate Parcel of them, one who had a Right of Sovereignty over the reſt. We find in the Tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, that God ſcattered them all by Families, and that of every Family there was a Father or Head; and conſequently, one that was King of it, and a Founder of a Kingdom therein, and that Hereditary. This I could confirm of moſt of the Families and their Heads, there mentioned, by Humane Records; and that as well of thoſe that planted themſelves in *Northern* Climates, as of thoſe that ſate down in the *Eaſtern* and *Southern*; but it is not here convenient; God having thus took order, that Monarchy ſhould be according to the Law of Nature, the Government of every ſeveral diſtinct Society of Men, which he conſtituted at *Babel*;

Babel, and that Succeſſively, it continued in Vogue among all Nations for at leaſt a Thouſand Years after that. *Ariſtotle* ſays, That Anciently, the Cities and Nations were under the Authority of Kings. The ſame is teſtified by *Saluſt*, *Cicero*, *Juſtin*, out of *Trogus Pompeius*, and others; particularly of *Greece*, where there at length ſprang up ſo many Free Commonwealths, or Ariſtocratical and Democratical States, *Dyoniſſius Halicarnaſſeus* aſſures us, that it was Originally Governed all by Kings. To come Home, *Tacitus* hath theſe Words of the *Britains*, *Olim regibus parebant, nunc per Principes factionibus & ſtudiis trahuntur.* Indeed in all Records, whether of good or doubtful Credit, we find no People in our Iſland, before we find a King. So little does it appear, that the *Britiſh* Kings derived their Scepters from the Hands of the People.

Ariſt. l. 1. Polit. Saluſt. in Bello Catilin. Cicero de Leg. lib. 3. Juſt. l. 1. Dionyſ. Hal. l. 5.

Secondly, Monarchy only was the Government that God appointed to his People *Iſrael*. He, from their firſt coming out of *Egypt*, took the Government of them upon himſelf, and they came under a Theocracy. God therefore complains upon the Occaſion, in our Text, That they had rejected him, that he ſhould not Reign over them; and *Samuel*, that they ſaid, they would have a King, when the Lord their God was their King. This his Regency over them, he exerciſed by extraordinary Methods, and immediate Diſpenſations; and he made *Moſes*, *Joſhuah*, and the Judges his Vice-Roys, who, though none of them had the Name of King, except *Moſes*, of whom it's ſaid, he was King in *Jeſurun*, when the Heads of the People, and the Tribes of *Iſrael* were gather'd together, they all exerciſed a Regal Authority: But God did not intend that they ſhould have no other Mode of Government; he deſigned them, in due Seaſon, ſuch Kings as other Nations had. Beſides that, by the Spirit of God, *Jacob* ſaid, *The Scepter ſhall*

Deut. 33. 5.

not depart from Judah *until* Shiloh *come:* And *Balaam*, his King (ſpeaking of *Iſrael*) ſhall be higher than *Agag*, and his Kingdom ſhall be exalted; and the Mother of *Samuel*, *He ſhall give Strength unto his King, and exalt the Horn of his Annointed*: Moſes ſaid from God, *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt poſſeſs it, and ſhalt dwell therein, and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like as all the Nations that are about me, thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him over thee, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe, one from among thy* Brethren *ſhalt thou ſet King over thee*, &c. The latter part of which words, may more Grammatically and properly, be render'd thus: *Setting thou ſhalt ſet over thee a King, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe; one from among thy* Brethren *ſhalt thou ſet King over thee*; Or thus: *Thou ſhalt, by all means, ſet over thee a King; him whom God ſhall chuſe from among thy* Brethren, *ſhalt thou ſet King over thee.* In this Sence the *Syriack* Verſion renders it. To the ſame purpoſe, the *Targum* of *Ben. Uzziel*, *Ye ſhall ſeek Learning (or Inſtructions) of the Lord, and after that ſhall ſet over you a King: It is not lawful to ſet a Stranger over you, who is not of your* Brethren. Let us here, by the way, obſerve, It is not ſaid, Thou ſhalt ſet under, but over, and the People are here ſpoken of in the Singular Number, as one Congregate Body: So that the King that ſhould be Conſtituted, was to be, to the whole imbodied Society, not an Inferior Miniſter, but a Superior Magiſtrate. To this General Body of the People, God's Words are ſo far from allowing them a Liberty of ſetting up what Government they would, that they altogether deny it to them. Had God left them to chuſe whether they would ſet up Monarchy, or Ariſtocracy, or Democracy, or ſome Mixture of them, he would certainly have ſpoken of the reſt, as well as he does of

Deut. 17.

the

the Firſt; but whereas he propounds to them only a King, and gives them Rules only about him; eſpecially, ſince no where in Scripture, God gives them any Meaſures for any other Supreme Governors or Government, it is plain, he intended they ſhould have no other Supreme Government, but that of a King. A true Paraphraſe of the Words take thus in ſhort; When you ſhall be well ſetled in your Habitations, and ſhall in a fitting manner declare your ſelves to have a mind to ſet over you Regal Government, but not any other, I am pleaſed that you ſhould, and by all means, you ſhall ſet over you that Government, but not any other; but then you ſhall ſet over you a King, whom I ſhall chuſe, *&c.* Then he goes on, to give Rules for the King to obſerve, and concludes them thus: *To the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midſt of* Iſrael; by which Words, God plainly expreſt what Good Will he had for a Kingdom, and that an Hereditary one, and for the Right Poſſeſſor of it and his Heirs; and how Advantageous the Continuance thereof would be to the People. According to this Sence of this place, the Maſters of *Hebrew* Learning ſay, that of three Commands which God gave the People of *Iſrael* to execute as ſoon as they were well ſettled in the Land of *Canaan*; this was the Firſt, That they ſhould ſet a King over them. I ſhall only add on this Head, that the Throne of the Kings of *Iſrael*, is called, *The Throne of the Lord*; and their Kingdom, *The Kingdom of the Lord.* 1 Chr. 29. 33. 2. Chr. 13. 8.

Thirdly, God in Scripture, declares himſelf in Favor of a Monarchy, ſet up by Force againſt a Government, mix'd of Ariſtocracy and Democracy, and againſt the Wills of thoſe that were inveſted herewith. Such every one that is acquainted with Hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily believe the Government of the *Roman* Empe-

rors to be: And yet the Holy Ghost gives the Emperor the Name of *Augustus*, which was a Name of Holiness, as appears by *Macrobius* calling the Dedicated Table in the Heathen Temples, where were their *epulæ libationes et stipes*, *Mensam Augustatam*: And he gives that Name, not only to *Caius Octavius*, but also, if I take aim aright, to *Nero*; he gives either *Claudius*, or *Nero*, or both, the Name of King, which the Emperors for a long time shun'd, because the *Romans* disliked it, as signifying the Loss of their Liberty. He commands Prayers and Thanksgivings to be offer'd up for the *Roman* Emperor; and as Tribute and Honor, so also Submission to be paid to him; and this as Supreme, and for the Lord's Sake. He says also, in relation to him, when either *Claudius* or *Nero* wore the Diadem, αἱ ἔσαι ἐξουσίαι, the Powers, (the Authorities) that are at present existing, are ordained of God; and that whoever resisted him, resisted the Ordinance of God, and that he was the Minister of God.

Luke 2. 1.
Acts 27. 1.
1 Tim. 2. 2.
1 Pet. 2. 13. 17.
1 Tim. 2. 2.
Rom. 13.
1 Pet. 2. 13. 17.
Rom. 13.

Fourthly, Kings are represented standing in a much nearer Relation to God, than any other Secular Governours: But this is too full a Subject to be now discoursed.

Fifthly, It is God's Charge to all, to have a most awful Respect for the King, and not to be of their Party who vary from it, or who enterprise any Alteration from Kingly Government: And this, by the Rule of having a most Awful Respect for the true God, and of not joyning with such as vary from it; or as enterprise any Alteration from his Monarchy, they being Duties that are closely linked together; and because hasty Destruction, and such ill Fortune, as no Body knows before-hand what it shall be, or perhaps will apprehend when it comes, certainly attend, and will unawares befall, as well the Sinners of the former sort, as those of the latter. So

must

muſt thoſe Words of *Solomon* be underſtood, *My Son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with thoſe that are given to Change: For their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddainly, and who knoweth the Ruine of them both?* Both Changers from the Fear of the Lord, and Changers from the Fear of the King. Prov. 24. 21.

Sixthly, God ſpeaks of Regal Government, as alone juſtly agreable to the buſineſs of Government; which, in regard to thoſe that are to be Governed, is, that they may live a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty; Godlineſs firſt, in paying God his Rights; then Honeſty: So far is *ſalus Populi* from being *Suprema Lex*. What leſs can we think, when we find it ſaid twice in the Book of *Judges*, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael; but every man did that which was Right in his own Eyes*; eſpecially conſidering what grievous Confuſions then prevailed, and what impious and flagitious Enormities were then committed; in the Relations of ſome of which it is ſaid, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael*; a Signification, that they were to be aſcribed to the want of a King, though at the ſame time, there were both Elders of the Congregation, and a Renowned High-Prieſt. What leſs can we think, when we read in the ſame Book, *They came to* Laiſh, *and ſaw the People that were therein, how they dwelt careleſs, after the manner, (by the Law) of the* Zidonians, *quiet and ſecure; and there was no Magiſtrate in the Land that might put them to Shame*; conſidering unto what Miſchiefs we find them betrayed by that State of Affairs; and that the two words which we tranſlate Magiſtrate, properly denote an Hereditary Poſſeſſor of Supreme Government: For to ſignifie ſuch a Government, is the word *Eſar*, uſed in Scripture, particularly in the Buſineſs of the Text; whence I cannot but think, came the *Hetruſcan* Word *Eſar*, which ſignifies the Supreme Governor of the World, God, Judge 17. 6. & 21. 25. Judg. 18. 1. & 19. 1. Judg. 21. 16. Judg. 20. 28. Judg. 18. 7. *Sutt. in Julii Cæſar.* cit.

Hesych. God, and Αισιοι Gods; and possibly the *Greek* Words, Αισυμνήτηρ Αισυμνήτης, a King. What less can we think when we find the want of a King, spoken of by God, as a grievous Calamity, and inflicted for the punishment of a People's Wickedness; When we read the Prophet *Jeremiah*, complaining, *The Breath of our Nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their Nets, of whom we said, under his Shadow we shall live among the Heathen.* The Prophet *Ezekiel*, *Thy Mother is like a Vine, ---- she had Rods for the Scepters of them that bear Rule; --- but she was plucked up in fury, she was cast down to the ground, and the* East *Wind dried up her Fruit; her strong Rods were broken and withered, the fire consumed them; and now she is planted in the Wilderness, in a dry and thirsty Ground; and fire is gone out of a Rod of her Branches, which hath devoured her Fruit; so that she hath no strong Rod to be made a Scepter to Rule.* And the Prophet *Hosea*, *Now they shall say, we have no King, because we feared not the Lord; what then shall a King do unto us?* That is far from being inconsiderable, which *Dion. Cassius* says, Δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα ἴσχημον ἔχει, &c. *Democracy hath indeed a specious Name, and seems by equal Laws, to give an equal portion to all; but it is argued by its Effects, not at all to agree with its Appellation: on the other side, Monarchy is harsh to the Ear, but most beneficial to the State: for it is easier to find one man good than many; and if some think it hard to find that one good man, they must of necessity think it impossible to find those many: If then the one that governs is bad, he is yet rather to be chosen, than a great many like him. Of this, the Atcheivements of* Greeks and Barbarians, *and of the* Romans *also, are Testimonies, they being always by far, better, and greater, and more, under Kings than under Populacy; and Grievances falling out less in Monarchies, than in Popular Governments. And if any Commonwealth hath flourish'd under a Popular Administration, it hath lasted but for a short time, while they had not arrived at Greatness and*

Lam. 4. 20.

Ezek. 19. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Hos. 10. 3.

Dion Cassius Hist. Rom. l. 43.

Strength;

Strength; *ſo that there ſprang no Injuriouſneſs from Succeſs, nor Envy from Ambition. Abimelech*, though I do not think he ſpake by immediate Inſpiration from Heaven, yet he did from the Oracle of Reaſon, and knew the Anſwer was obvious to a knowing Man, when he put that Queſtion to the *Shechamites*, *Whether is it better for you, either that threeſcore and ten Perſons Reign over you, or that one Reign over you*? Be the State of a Nation never ſo like Heaven, ſeveral Suns, at the ſame time therein, will quickly turn it into a kind of Hell, by ſetting all on Fire. Judges 9. 2.

I ſhould ſay ſomething, by way of Application, and I have too large a Field for it; but neither the Time, nor the *Times* allow me Liberty to employ my ſelf therein: I muſt refer that, as *Fœlix* did the hearing S. *Paul*, to a more convenient Seaſon. I ſhall at preſent only Conclude from what hath been ſaid, That Monarchy among men, is one of the faireſt Daughters of that of Heaven; and that they who have endeavor'd to deflower her, have thereby confeſs'd her Beauty; and heartily pray, that we may never think them good Chriſtians, whether Proteſtants, or Papiſts, who being Subjects, inſolently lay Hands on the Scepter, and attempt to Sway it; by which means, both that and the State, muſt needs ſuffer moſt untoward Convulſions; whoſe Tongues are Blaſphemouſly, and their Fingers Sacrilegiouſly buſie, with both Monarchy and Monarchs; who would eſtabliſh Iniquity againſt Kings by a Law: And that whereas the People of *Iſrael* were guilty of a great Wickedneſs in asking a King in that manner that they did, we may never be of a greater, in asking no King, or ſuch an one as imports little more; but that God would always preſerve his Government, both in State and Church; ſo that no Man may be ſo horribly wicked, as to arrogate to himſelf the Prerogative of doing what God is ſaid to have done, *deſpiſing in the Indignaation of his Anger, the King and the Prieſt.* Lam. 2. 6.

FINIS.